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ABSTRACT

The National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience have provided a detailed and continuous record of the employment experience, education, attitudes, and family structure of respondents since the mid-1960's. The experience and attitudes of women who have participated in the NLS reflect social as well as demographic changes. A review of findings about trends affecting women's employment shows a steady increase in the proportion of women working after they have children, especially among whites. Over the years, women have tended to accumulate more labor force experience, to get more education, and to have fewer children. Attitudinal barriers to employment for women have been reduced, in large part in response to women's actual labor force experience. Older women seem to be particularly vulnerable to economic bad times. Extreme occupational sex segregation continues. Increases in the rate of childbearing among teens, especially blacks, may prevent them from sharing the improvements in labor market status and earnings of women as a whole. (Author/JAC)

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Abstract

This paper reviews the major published and unpublished findings about trends affecting women's employment based on research done using the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience (NLS). The NLS has followed cohorts of men and women, starting in the mid-1960's and continuing to the present, providing a detailed and continuous record of the employment experience, education, attitudes, and family structure of the respondents.

There has been a steady increase in the proportion of women working after they have children, especially among whites. Over the years, women have tended to accumulate more labor force experience, to get more education, and to have fewer children. Attitudinal barriers to employment for women are reduced, in large part in response to women's actual labor force experience. These trends enhance each other, since women with higher levels of education tend to earn more and to work more, while women with fewer children expect to have fewer years of major childraising responsibility and more years in the work force. Older women seem to be particularly vulnerable to economic bad times. Extreme occupational sex segregation continues. Increases in the rate of childbearing among teens, especially blacks, may prevent them from sharing the improvements in labor market status and earnings of women as a whole.

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The National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience (NLS) consists of a set of five large panel studies, each targetted at a particular major issue in the study of employment patterns of the American labor force. Historically, the NLS began when the Department of Labor felt the need to explore the reasons for the apparent trend toward earlier departure of men from the work force. In 1966, a panel of approximately 5,000 men between the ages of 45 and 59 was drawn to study the labor force behavior of men as they approached retirement, with the field work done by the Bureau of Census.

The mission of the NLS was soon expanded to include investigations of the factors involved in the return of women to the workforce after leaving to raise children, and the transition of young people, male and female, from school into the labor force. These subsequent issues were explored by drawing separate panels, each panel consisting of respondents all of one sex and within an appropriate age range, using the same sampling frame developed for the older men's panel. Each of these panels oversampled blacks, in order to provide enough cases for stable cross-race comparisons.[1] The use of a common sampling frame provided a secondary benefit beyond the reduction of field

[1]Any national cross section will include a very small number of individuals who are of races other than black or white. However, this number is so small, and their similarities or differences from the majority ethnic groups so little understood, that they are generally dropped from analysis or simply lumped together with the white respondents. For convenience, this paper will speak of "whites" rather than the more technically correct "non-blacks".

expenses: many households contained members eligible for more than one of the panels. Thus, we have longitudinal data on pairs of siblings, on husbands and wives, on fathers and sons, and on mothers and daughters. Table 1 summarizes the various panels and combined datasets available.

The latest NLS panel was initiated in 1979, and consists of 12,000 young men and women, age 14 to 21 in the first survey year. Field work was done by the National Opinion Research Corporation. This panel has a much more complex design, including both males and females in the same panel and oversampling blacks, Hispanics, and non-black, non-Hispanics from poverty level households, and including a subsample of young men and women enlisted in military service. (For more information on the design of the NLS, see Center for Human Resource Research, 1982).

The three panels of women are the focus of this paper. The panel selected for studying labor market reentry included women aged 30 to 44 in 1967. Our local term for this panel is Mature Women. The second group was 14 to 24 in 1968, and we will refer to them as Young Women. The third group, 14 to 21 in 1979, will be termed the Youth panel. Table 2 attempts to describe the historical context necessary to understand the profound social and economic changes these women have experienced.

The Mature Women were born in the period between the two world wars. This panel has seen, personally, the most dramatic fluctuations in the role of women. Among the whites, few had working mothers when they were growing up. Married women were barred by social and legislative fiat from many jobs, such as teaching and clerical work. Black women historically have had to work. Most of the blacks in the sample had working mothers, and over three quarters of the employed mothers were working in the physically demanding, poorly paid and dead end occupations of private household service and farm labor (Shaw and

O'Brien, 1982). The war economy of World War II brought a dramatic and highly publicized entry of women, notably middle-class white women, into the labor force, while the end of the war brought the equally highly publicized return of women to the home and the Feminine Mystique (at least among whites).

The women of the mature women's panel turned 20 during the war or shortly afterward. They are the baby boom mothers. Their fertility was higher than either the generation before or the generation after. The younger women in this group, the ones coming of childbearing age after the war, tended to both begin and finish their families at an earlier age than did the older members of the panel. Thus, by their early 30's, when they first became members of the NLS panel, they had completed their period of most intensive family responsibility.

It should be noted that these mothers of the baby boom had no reason to believe that they would be part of a social revolution during their middle years. Among the whites, it is likely that few of them anticipated working for any substantial proportion of their lives, so they did not, by and large, obtain the training or education to prepare for work. Among the black women, even if they had forseen their future opportunities in higher level occupations, the poor education available in the rural South and the high level of poverty nationally would have prevented them from taking advantage of these opportunities (Shaw and O'Brien, 1982).

As it happens, the young women entering the labor force at the time the panel of Young Women was drawn were the baby boom babies. They grew up during the late fifties and early sixties, a heady time of social unrest and questioning of previously accepted strictures. They also grew up during a less visible revolution, the gradual return of their mothers to the labor force. The increase in labor force participation of married women coincided

with the expansion of the service industries and the clerical jobs traditionally held by women, so that there was little if any decrease in the degree of occupational segregation over the years (Blau and Hendricks, 1978).

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the baby boom cohort is its sheer size. For the previous generation, wartime expansion of the economy and the longest boom of the post-war period had established expectations of opportunity, full employment, and upward mobility. The baby boom meant that a large number of people in a restricted age range came into the labor force over a period of a few years, producing a crowding of the labor market, restricting the chances for advancement within this cohort to a small proportion of its members. The civil rights and womens' movements, whatever their contributions to social justice, also opened up the labor market for previously excluded or restricted populations to compete with what was already a record cohort of labor market entrants. The crowding was combined with an economy where each recessionary cycle reached a higher level of unemployment and where the intervening recovery periods were relatively short. This is the setting in which the members of the Youth panel are endeavoring to establish themselves as memebers of the adult community.

The research to be discussed in this paper cannot begin to cope with the causes of social ferment in the 60's and 70's. Rather, I will attempt to describe the ways in which social change is reflected in the experiences and attitudes of the women who have participated in the NLS, and try to extrapolate from those experiences to the future. Most of the longitudinal research is restricted to the two older panels, and the more speciallized research is often limited to married women and whites. I will first discuss some of the more global demographic and attitudinal changes which can be seen in these women, and then go on to look at some of the details which emerge from the

extensive literature generated from the NLS data set. Time limits me to a few major topics, and I have chosen to focus on issues affecting the labor market and the tradeoffs between home and work, since these are the most extensively researched areas, and have the clearest implications for social change.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES.

There were several major demographic changes which permeate the investigation of women and social change. One is the accumulation of substantial work experience by women. Whether women are entering the labor force in order to maintain a chosen level of income and concommitant lifestyle, or whether they are choosing to work for the fulfillment available from paid employment, the fact is that more women are working and more young women are being raised by working mothers (c.f. Shapiro and Shaw, 1982).

A second major change is the rising education levels of women. A substantial proportion of the Mature Women had not completed high school by the time of the first interview. Over the years, many older women returned to school or participated in specific occupational training, particularly those women who had already completed a fair amount of education. (One of the reliable trends in all three data sets is that those women who start out with the fewest resources are least likely to participate in the social changes that might ameliorate their lives.) The proportion of women entering college has increased, until, among the youth panel, women are actually more likely to attend college, cet. par., than are men (Borus and Carpenter, 1982). Given that education is a major predictor of both amount of labor force participation and job quality, the increasing levels of education are expected to lead to greater equality of labor force outcomes between men and women.

Anticipated fertility has decline. On the average, young women report

anticipating fewer children as of 1979 than their counterparts reported a decade earlier. To a large extent, the change reflects the growing dominance of the two child ideal (Crowley and Shapiro, 1981). In particular, there are few women who wish to have more than four children.

One notable pattern which can be determined from the longitudinal information about the women in the NLS is the degree to which the sequence of major role transitions has changed over the past generation. Among the Mature Women, most completed school, got married, and had children, in that order. There has been an increasing tendency for women to return to school after bearing children, and, among the young women, substantial numbers bore children while they were still in school. In part, this is due to the increase in the proportion of women who attend college. There has been, for whites, an increase in the age at marriage and at first birth which seem to imply that these women are establishing themselves in the labor market before establishing their families (Mott, 1981).

Among black women, however, age at first birth has declined (Mott 1981).-

It is clear that there has been a large increase in the proportion of first births which precede first marriage. Among young women in the youth panel who had been out of school for at least 10 months in 1979, forty percent of black women had had at least one child. The proportion is considerably lower among whites, but is still substantially higher than the proportion a decade earlier. Compared with either of the older panels, a much larger proportion of the youth cohort births were out-of-wedlock (Mott and Maxwell, 1981). While this may reflect merely a reduction in shotgun marriages, it remains the case that many of these babies must be supported by their mothers, or their mothers' relatives, without contributions from the babies' fathers. Early parenthood continues to have a depressing effect on the ability of young

mothers to acquire education and training needed for entry into good-paying jobs. While some of the institutional barriers to economic improvement for young mothers may be falling, notably barriers to continued education, the magnitude of the increase in early parenthood among black women may mean a continuation of the concentration of poverty among minority youth.

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION: ENTRY, REENTRY, AND ATTACHMENT TO THE LABOR FORCE.

Mature Women.

In some ways, it is difficult to talk about women's labor force participation and social change, simply because so little has been really known about women's working patterns in the past. Lois Shaw, of the Center for Human Resource Research, has done a considerable amount of analysis on the detailed labor force participation patterns of the mature women's panel. Among other things, she notes that while cross-sectional figures estimate that about 60% of women are in the labor force, 80 percent of whites and 90 percent of blacks worked at least part of the time during the period from 1966 to 1977. Over thirty percent of the panel worked virtually continuously during this time period, and another thirty percent worked between 25 and 75 percent of the period. Included in this middle range of workers are some who were actually continuous workers who reentered or exited from the labor market during the period measured (Shaw and O'Brien, 1982).

Women with the highest earnings potential, that is, women with more education and labor force experience, are most likely to re-enter the labor force or to move from intermittent to continuous work. The influence of financial pressure on reentry among whites is shown in the significant, if

rather small, relationship between low family income and the decision to reenter. Among white women, there is a tendency to increase the percent of weeks worked when children reach college age, a tendency not found among blacks, presumably due to the difference by race in the proportion of children attending college (Shaw, 1981).

Shaw's work on the mature women also shows the importance of looking at the level of labor force attachment among women over an extended period, rather than simply employment status at a particular time. Moving, children, and poor health tend to produce gaps in employment among white women, but are not closely related to predicting whether a woman works or not during a five year period (Shaw, 1981).

Attitudes toward housework and the appropriateness of women working become more important in the decision to go to work as family responsibilities decrease. For white women, as family responsibilities decrease, opting to work in the paid labor market becomes more and more of a rational choice between alternative lifestyles, each with different rewards (Shaw, 1982a).

Economic hard times make it harder for women who have not worked continuously over the preceding few years to become established in the labor market. The effects of unemployment are most significant among reentrants and intermittent workers. When women are asked why they left their last jobs, they are very likely to mention business conditions, meaning that they left their jobs involuntarily rather than choosing freely to reduce their attachment to the labor force. Older women, especially, may leave the labor force entirely after a layoff, perhaps due to the difficulty this group has in getting good jobs (Shaw, 1982b).

There are major differences by race in the labor force participation of women. Among blacks, work is less associated with marital status or family

structure than for whites, no doubt due to the relative precariousness of the financial status of black families. Education, a'so, is less closely associated with work among blacks than among whites. Over the ten year period, there has been a much more substantial increase in wages for blacks, due largely to their shifting out of private household service and farm labor into service and clerical occupations. Wage gains for both races were concentrated among women with continuous work histories (Shaw and O'Brien, 1982; Shaw, 1982b).

Blacks, both women and men, are much more likely to leave the labor force permanently due to ill health than are whites (Chiricos and Nestel, 1982). Apparently, while whites can adapt to ill health by reducing their hours or weeks worked during the year or by finding less demanding jobs, blacks do not have such flexibility, and find themselves unable to work at all.

The impact of unemployment is also quite different for the two races. High rates of unemployment can either increase the labor supply of women as they try to find work to replace the income lost by an unemployed husband, or decrease employment, as women who would like to enter the labor force defer job search until the likelihood of finding a good job improves. Among blacks, the substitute worker effect seems to predominate, with black women more likely to enter the labor force during periods of high unemployment, cet. par. Whites, on the other hand, seem more likely to defer entry (Blau, 1978).

Both patterns can have permanent effects on earnings for women. Black women, entering the labor market when jobs are scarce, are likely to have to settle for jobs which do not pay them as much as they deserve, or as much as they could have gotten in better times. By delaying entry into the labor market, white women lose forever a period of employment, and length of employment is a major component of compensation, both in wages and in potential pensions.

Young Women

One major focus of research on the labor market patterns of young women has been on the relationship between work and the family life cycle. Most of this research has been based on some version of the economic model of the allocation of time between home and the paid labor market. It is assumed that families allocate the time of the wife according to where her labor is most valuable. If there are children, the value of the wife's work in the home may outweigh any wages she could earn, both in terms of "child quality" and services such as cleaning and child tending which would have to be purchased if she were working. As the children grow older and no longer need intensive supervision, the family may decide that the wife's time could better be spent in the paid labor force (c.f., Mincer and Polachek, 1974).

In fact, the respondents in the Young Women's panel are very heterogenious in their attachment to the labor force. A substantial subgroup demonstrates virtually continuous labor force participation, working up to a short time before each birth, and resuming work a short time after (Mott and Shapiro, 1982; Waite, 80). High school graduates, and those who show early commitment to the labor force had much higher levels of work activity in the years following first birth. Almost two thirds of all young mothers are employed within 6 months of the birth of the first child. Contrary to the impressions gathered from cross-sectional research, there is no effect of early work attachment on subsequent fertility, although women who were low in commitment to the labor force at an early age tended to show higher levels of fertility (Mott and Shapiro, 1982). However, planning to be working rather than in the home at midlife does seem to lower fertility expectations (Waite

and Stolzenberg, 1976) Apparently, ideals are determined at a stage earlier than the entry into the labor market. The continuity of labor force attachment shown by young women was attributed to their recognition that the labor market reserves its best rewards for continuous workers. Advancement and wage increases are jeopardized by intermittent work patterns.

For those women with less than a full commitment to work, the stage of the family life-cycle may be important. Prior to first birth, virtually all of the young women work. During this initial stage of family formation, both partners are involved in laying a firm financial basis for the family unit. Women are less likely to reenter the labor market after the birth of a child if more children are planned, since the potential rewards of working during this intermediate period are reduced by the anticipated interruption in employment for childbirth. Women who do work during this stage are those who are most committed to working, regardless of short-term economic conditions. During the period following the birth of the last child, the labor force participation of women conforms most closely with the economic formulations of women's employment, since women can again weigh the long term gains from employment against the benefits of staying home (Waite, 1980).

Note that the decline in fertility among women, combined with the increasing tendency of women to work during periods when family responsibilities are low, means that women are working a longer proportion of their adult lives. To the extent that much of the discrepancy in wages and attainment between women and men can be attributed to women's lower average levels of work experience, these trends should lead to a narrowing of the gaps. (Mott and Shapiro, 1981).

The increasing labor force participation of women also means that more girls are being brought up by working mothers. Analysis of the mother-

daughter matched sample showed that the labor force participation of the daughters was more a function of the mother's attitudes than of the mother's behavior. That is, daughters whose mothers were accepting of women working were more likely to work than were daughters of more traditionally oriented women, regardless of the mother's own employment. In fact, the young women with the least labor force participation were daughters of women who worked but who held traditional attitudes. Among daughters of working women who held nontraditional attitudes about women's roles, there appears to be no attitudinal barrier to employment, so the daughters are free to adjust their working and home time in accordance with rational models (Mott, Statham, and Maxwell, 1981).

A Brief Comment on Marital Stability and Employment.

Marital disruption has a smaller effect on employment than is commonly supposed. In general, women who work after marital dissolution also worked while they were married. Similarly, women who are in poverty after disruption tended to be from homes which had a history of low income (Mott and Moore, 1982; Nestel, Mercier, and Shaw, 1982).

What emerges from looking at the economic effects of marrital transitions is, most strikingly, the difference by race in marriage patterns. Among blacks, divorce is a middle class phenomenon. Black women who divorce are, on average, more highly educated and have higher paying jobs than do other black women. Poor black women, on the other hand, are much more likely than other women to report being separated. Widows also tend to be at or near poverty when they lose their husbands, no doubt reflecting the prevalence of poor health among the poor. Among blacks, labor force participation actually decreases among those who are widowed or separated, reflecting more dependence

on transfer payments and on other family members (Nestel, Mercier, and Shaw, 1982).

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND ATTAINMENT

While there have been dramatic changes in the amount of time spent in the labor market by women, there has been very little change in the types of jobs women hold. In the period between 1950 and 1970, there was virtually no change in the degree of occupational segregation in the labor force (Blau and Hendricks, 1978). The difference in occupational attainment is one component of the wage differential by sex, although there remains a large difference in the wages of women and men within broad occupational groupings. (Brown, et al., 1978).

Treas and Tyree (1979) found that only white males advanced occupationally over their careers. For young women, the effects of social class and other family background charateristics on occupational attainment were entirely through their effects on education, which in turn had a strong effect on the occupational prestige of women's first jobs.

Early marriage and early parenthood have substantial negative effects on both education and occupational attainment for young women. Marriage has some effect on reducing education among young men, but men do not show any negative effects of parenthood (Kerckhoff and Parrow, 1978).

Explanations for sex differences in the distribution of workers into occupations have focused on individual choice. According to economic theory, women anticipate intermittent employment, and select occupations in which there is less penalty for taking time off (Polachek, 1976). A test of this hypotheses using data from the mature women's panel, however, showed no inf-

luence on occupational distribution associated with family structure or prior employment history (Daymont and Statham, 1982).

Occupational segregation is very strong in every measure available in the NLS. A portion of this segregation is no doubt a function of early occupational aspirations. All three panels of young people included an item asking respondents what they would like to be doing at age thirty five[3]. To a large extent, aspirations mirror the actual distributions of workers, with clerical and sales positions dominated by women and men dominating the crafts fields (Shapiro and Crowley, 1982). Within the Young Women's panel, there was a trend over time for women to aspire to somewhat less female dominated jobs. However, the male-typed jobs selected by the young women were very few in number, and tended to be in occupations which were likely to be very crowded with applicants over the next several years (Brito and Jusenius, 1980).

Looking at the Young Women in 1968, most white women and about a quarter of the blacks said that they anticipated being in the home at age thirty five. Among the Youth in 1979, only a small fraction of women expected to be housewives; the vast majority expected to be in the labor force. None of the black women aspired to household service, continuing the trend observed in the labor force. Essentially, the shift in the distribution among women was to more prestigious women's jobs. A majority of both young women and young men aspired to technical and professional fields (Shapiro and Crowley, 1982). Not only did the distribution of aspirations shift across broad occupational categories, within categories there was a general tendency to desire jobs which were at least somewhat less female-dominated.

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[3]Actually, the young men's sample was asked what they would like to be doing when they were 30, rather than age 35. Since the respondents were 24 or younger at the time the question was asked, the results should be quite comparable across cohorts despite this discrepancy.

There was very little inclination, even in 1979, for women to desire to enter the skilled trades. In contrast, the proportion of young men aspiring to these jobs increased substantially over time (Shapiro and Crowley, 1982). The avoidance of such jobs by young women may have serious consequences for their economic well-being; while occupational sex-typing has little effect on average wage among white collar workers net of other factors, there appears to be a substantial wage penalty to being in a female-typed blue collar job (Daymont and Statham, 1982).

The difference in occupational aspirations between men and women should not be interpretted to mean that occupational segregation is entirely voluntary. Occupational choice depends in part on the perception of the potential worker of the probability of success in the chosen field. Structural and interpersonal factors involved with pioneering in new occupational fields, including discrimination and harassment, are not barriers which all women should be expected to leap easily, without a powerful motivation for making the jump.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WORKING WOMEN

This section of the paper will be fairly brief, since the change in attitudinal acceptance of women participating in the labor force has been well documented elsewhere.

The longitudinal design of the NLS allows distentangling of the mutual influence of attitudes about work and labor force behavior. Essentially, women whose atttitudes are more favorable to working mothers are more likely to work, and women who work are more likely to develop favorable attitudes. The effects of work on attitudes are stronger, however, than the effects of attitudes on work (Statham, et al., 1977; Statham and Rhoton, 1982).

Analysis of data from the subset of women in the mature women's panel whose husbands were involved in the Men's panel shows that both men and women were becoming less traditional in their beliefs about the propriety of mothers of small children participating the the paid labor market, but that the gap between them was increasing as women's attitudes changed faster. Moreover, not only did women's work change their own attitudes, it changed their husbands' attitudes, too, in the same direction. Finally, there was a slight tendency for men who held more accepting views about women's work to work less over time than their more traditional counterparts, perhaps indicating that in some of these families both spouses were sharing the breadwinner role (Statham and Rhoton, 1982).

CONCLUSIONS AND SPECULATIONS.

The gradual entry of women into the labor market may have been the catalyst for the emergence of the "second wave" of the women's movement in the United States. Data from the NLS clearly shows that work experience has the effect of encouraging women to change their attitudes to become more accepting of the role of women in the labor force. Women are now firmly attached to the labor market, and it is unlikely that anything will dislodge them.

Since more women are planning for work, more women should be preparing themselves for work, acquiring the education and training they need to succeed in the labor market. As with the increase in nontraditional attitudes, the increase in education levels itself increases the participation of women in the labor force, and facilitates the entry of women into fields traditionally dominated by men.

Unfortunately, changes in labor force distribution are much slower than changes in labor force participation. Young women are still by and large

choosing to go into fields traditionally considered appropriate for women. I assume that women's talents are more diverse than their occupations, and that this restriction of options results not only in lower levels of income for women but also prevents at least some women from fully realizing their capabilities. Change is, however, occurring, and most of the other social changes discussed in this paper will facilitate continuing integration of the labor market.

Women appear to be accepting the two child family and this means a shortened period of heavy family responsibilities, even in a very traditional household. No doubt, much of the career planning reflects this anticipation. By the the younger women are thirty five, most of them will no longer have pre-school children in the home. Paid employment seems to be a strong norm for the post-child period.

The disturbing element in all this optimism is, of course, the increase in births among very young women, especially among young blacks. While formal barriers to advancement may be less common now, with pregnant teenagers encouraged to finish or return to school, the effects of early motherhood are still, on average, to limit the mother's potential for success in the labor market. Many older women, especially blacks, are also caught up in poverty, with few resources for advancement. The current administration's policy is to push marriage and to limit drastically the opportunities for poor women to obtain either the education or the work experience which they need in order to succeed in a highly competitive labor market. Since most transfer payments are based on the presence of children in the home, the plight of these women can only be expected to worsen as their children mature. With marriage no longer offering the life-time security it once advertised, women must be able to support themselves adequately. The interrelationships described above

which promise continued advancement for women as a whole promise only continued disadvantage for the poor, the undereducated, and the unemployed.

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Table 1

Data Sets Available from the National Longitudinal Surveys

Data Set	Respondents Included	Year of initial interview	Number of Records
Panels			
*Mature men	men 45-59	1966	5034
*Mature women	women 30-44	1967	5083
*Young men (boys)	men 14-24	1966	5225
*Young women (girls)	women 14-24	1968	5159
*Youth	men & women 14-21	1979	12,686
Combinations: Households with respondents in more than one panel.			
*Man-women			574
Man-boy			1167
Man-girl			1069
Woman-boy			1792
*Woman-girl			1957
Boy-girl			2260
*Man-women-boy			519
Man-boy-girl			301
Woman-boy-girl			799
Man-woman-boy-girl			160

*Data set has been used in research

Table 2

Social and Economic Context for National Longitudinal Surveys Women's Panels

Year	Economic Conditions	Societal Events	Developmental Events: Mature Women	Young Women	Youth
1920	Return to normalcy	Women's suffrage			
21		Prohibition enacted			
22					
23					
24		Immigration quotas imposed			
25		Female governor elected in Texas			
26		Scope's monkey trial			
27		Ford introduces the 5 day 40 hour work week			
28					
29		Stock market crash			
1930	The great depression		Birth		
31					
32		Roosevelt elected president			
33	The new deal	Hitler appointed chancellor			
34		Prohibition repealed			
35		Wagner Act - right to collective bargaining			
36					
37					
38					
39		Ten million unemployed	10 years old: socialization		
1940		WWII starts in Europe			
41	War effort	Pearl Harbor - U.S. enters WWII			
42		Rosie the Riveter goes to work			
43					
44					
45		WWII ends - Rosie returns home			
46		Baby boom (1946-1954)			
47		Feminine mystique			
48					
49	Recession (9/48-10/49)		20 years old: begin families, entry into labor market	Birth	
1950		U.S. enter Korean conflict			
51					
52					
53		Korean conflict ends			
54	Recession (6/53-8/54)	Hydrogen Bomb developed			
55		Brown vs. Board of Education			
56		Montgomery bus boycott			
57	Recession (7/57-5/58)	Sputnik launched			
58					
59		Kennedy elected president	30 years old: children in school, reentry into labor mkts.	10 years old: socialization	Birth
1960	Recession (4/60-2/61)	"The Pill" introduced			
61		Freedom rides			
62		U.S. involvement in Vietnam begins			
63		Kennedy assassinated			
64	Great Society Programs	Civil rights march on Washington			
65	(Boom years - economic	Civil Rights Act (Title VII, IX)			
66	expansion)				
67					
68		Second wave feminist movement		20 years old: end school, begin families, career	10 years old: socialization
69	Recession (3/69-11/70)		40 years old		
1970	"Stagflation"				
71		Fair Credit Reporting Act			
72		Equal Employment Opportunity Act			
73		ERA sent to states for ratification			
74		Billy Jean King defeats Bobby Riggs			
75	Recession (10/74-4/75)	Roe vs. Wade - abortion legalized			
76		(Numerous court decisions -			
77		extend rights of women in			
78		employment and education)			
79		Federal Reserve floats interest rates	50 years old	30 years old	20 years old: begin families, careers
1980	Recession (2/80-7/80)	Reagan elected president			
81					
82		ERA stalls			